Workers of the World, Unite !

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Atrocity Hoax Fails to Stop Pressure to End Korea War

The Truth About Atrocities in Korean War

By Art Preis

Atrocity stories by capitalist war propagandists are almost invariably faked or grossly exaggerated. The claim that Chinese and North Koreans have murdered 6,270 U.S. prisoners of war is no exception. What distinguishes this claim, issued by Col. James M. Hanley, Judge Advocate General of the Eighth Army, is its extreme crudity.

The very timing of his report — so convenient for stalling cease-fire negotiations — would alone make it suspect. But the report is a fraud on the face of it. It contains not the shadow of proof and the latest date cited in it is Dec. 10, 1950.

Even Gen. Matthew B. Ridgeway has reluctantly admitted that "the total number of U S. dead as a result of the atrocities and for whom bodies have been recovered is 365," that "there is no conclusive proof as to the number of dead" and that "neither the fact nor manner of death" of most of the soldiers listed in Hanley's report has been established. Ridgway can only cover up Hanley's fraud to the extent of claiming that uncited evidence justifies a "presumption" that "a large number" of U.S. prisoners have been killed — a number that "may approximate" 6,000.

How did Hanley arrive at his figure of 6,270? According to a United Press dispatch of Nov. 17 from Tokyo, citing "a headquarters staff officer," the statement of Hanley was "based in part upon unscientific investigation, generalizations and possible duplications."

The actual text of Col. Hanley's original report contains only one specific incident involving American troops, the alleged killing of 200 U.S. Marines near Sinhung on Dec. 10, 1950, on order of a Chinese regimental commander. I. F. Stone of the N.Y. Daily Compass points out that the cumulative total of all Marines officially listed as missing on Dec. 28, 1950 was only 79. Stone questioned U.S. Marine authorities in the Pentagon and learned they had never heard of the incident, had no reports of any Marines killed as prisoners of war and had heard from returned POWs that prisoners were, in fact, well-treated by the Chinese.

Treatment of Marines

I have before me two dispatches from Korea, both dated May 25, 1951, sent by the Associated Press and United Press. They tell about the experiences of 19 U.S. prisoners of war — including 18 Marines — who had been captured in November 1950. The UP story says: "For the most part, they were well treated by the Chinese" who even gave them "a Christmas party of sorts, including candy and a Christmas tree."

The only "hardship" imposed on them by the Chinese appears to have been their compulsory attendance "for three hours of classes in communism every three days." The AP story relates that "the GIs were in good health, despite their six months of frigid weather, forced marches, air attacks by American planes and a Chinese diet." The only danger they faced was from American bombing. At Chorwon, "the men said they lived in foxholes by day and crowded into native huts by night. They said bomb raids wiped out Chorwon and napalm strikes kept the hill and mountains 'walls of flame.' "

The Real Atrocities

I agree with I. F. Stone that, on the basis of the evidence, "Hanley is a liar and Ridgway a dissembler." But I am far from denying that monstrous atrocities have been committed in Korea. Some questions are in order about Chinese and North Korean prisoners of war.

Hanson W. Baldwin, military analyst of the N.Y. Times, noted in an article of Feb. 22, 1951, that in the four months of Chinese participation in the Korean war they had suffered casualties of 134,616, but "the only exact figure about these (Pentagon) estimates, however, was the 616; we knew we had exactly 616 Chinese Communist prisoners." This was at the time when U.S. forces, with less than 50,000 claimed casualties, had 8,531 missing. On May 18, when Chinese casualties totaled 311,789, the number of Chinese prisoners was only 3,483.

Such a low proportion of prisoners to total casualties is unheard of in modern warfare except under one condition — when troops are ordered not to take prisoners. Why are there so few Chinese prisoners of war? If I may paraphrase Gen. Ridgway, "there is considerable evidence to justify a presumption of death by atrocity of a large number" of Chinese troops. The announced policy of the U.S.-UN command has been to kill as many opposing troops as possible. "Operation Meat-Grinder" and "Operation Killer" the U.S. tactics have been called. Orders have been given to the U.S. forces to "kill everything that moves." "We have only one objective —

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Another Sheriff Murders Another Southern Negro

John Lester Mitchell, a 33-year old Negro, was shot dead by Deputy Sheriff Lanclos in Opelousas, La., on Nov. 19. Mitchell was unarmed. The authorities claimed that he was "acting rowdy and out of control" in a restaurant, and that Lanclos shot him in a scuffle that followed his order for Mitchell to leave.

Mitchell had already incurred the wrath of the Jim Crow authorities by daring, together with two other Negroes, to file a suit against the authorities in federal court. They charged that they were being denied the right to register solely because of their race and asked the court for protection of their right to vote. The suit was supposed to be heard on Nov. 29.

SECOND LYNCHING

This is the second legal lynching of a Southern Negro in two weeks. In many respects the Mitchell murder resembles the notorious killing of Samuel Shepherd and wounding of Walter Lee Irvin by a Florida sheriff who was enraged by a Supreme Court order that they be given a retrial on a frameup "rape" charge. In both cases a sheriff took "the law" into his own hands, knowing that he would not be punished, no matter what kind of crime he committed against defenseless Negroes.

The Florida sheriff, Willis McCall, has already been exonerated by a coroner's jury, and the state authorities refuse to take any action against him. Federal officials insist that their investigation of this crime is still continuing, but nothing serious is expected to come of it.

ANOTHER FRAMEUP

Meanwhile, in Yanceyville, N.C., a fantastic frameup ran into a temporary snag when two Negro members of a jury courageously refused to be party to the crime.

Mack Ingram, Negro sharecropper, was on trial, charged with "assault" on a white girl when he got out of a car, 70 feet away from her, to borrow a trailer from her father. She testified that he "leered" at her, and so she ran away.

The jury consisted of eight whites and four Negroes (the first to serve on a jury in that county since Reconstruction days). Two of the Negroes voted for acquittal, although they knew that by doing so they opened themselves to reprisal. The jury was deadlocked, and a mistrial was ordered. But Ingram was kept under bail, and faces another trial on the same charge next winter.

A Real Atrocity

Steel Union Formulates New Contract Demands

By Jim Ross

PITTSBURGH, Nov. 19 — The Wage Policy Committee of the United Steelworkers of America (CIO), meeting at Atlantic City last week, approved a 22 point program of demands for the negotiations which open soon.

This program embodies the widespread desire of the steelworkers for a substantial wage increase and a complete revision of the present contracts with steel firms. These contracts have not been changed since April 1947. Only the wage sections, reopened annually, have been altered since that time.

During the past five years, the Murray leadership of the steel union has bargained away needed contractual changes in return for moderate wage increases. This has led to an intolerable situation within the mills, and a strong feeling of resentment on the part of the men. Many department-wide, and plant-wide strikes have taken place in every steel area during the recent months. In most cases, the issues that produced these strikes could only be resolved by a change in industry-wide agreements. Therefore, a strong feeling has arisen among union militants that a complete overhauling of the contract can no longer be deferred. Murray and the wage policy committee have taken their cue from this sentiment.

The Wage Policy Committee of the Steelworkers is demanding a "substantial wage increase," indicating that under no circumstances will the steelworkers be satisfied with the present Wage Stabilization Board formula which would limit the union to four cents per hour increase. Thus the steel negotiations and a possible steel strike may become the first large-scale challenge to the government's wage freeze.

BIGGEST SINGLE ISSUE

The biggest single contract issue which will be discussed in Pittsburgh when the talks with the United States Steel Corp. open will be the "incentive pay" plans. While this is a complex dispute, the essence of it is simply this: The steelworkers demand that they get more money in direct proportion to the production increases that have resulted from recent technical improvements in the steel mills.

The steel companies have been trying to hold off the workers with small increases, which don't correspond to the big increases in production. This conflict has been the cause of most of the steel strikes in the last year.

THE SENIORITY CLAUSE

The Wage Policy Committee of the steel union is demanding an overhauling of the seniority clause of the contract. If won, this new clause can serve as the basis for an attack on Jim Crow practices in the steel plants. The union wants preference given to employees in the filling of vacancies that occur in any department.

At present the companies, through their hiring practices, still maintain lily-white departments. They are not obligated by union contract to give any preference to workers who want to shift from one department into another when a vacancy occurs. They can hire right off the street. This makes it possible for the companies to set up and maintain segregated departments. Many locals with militant and progressive leaders have been stymied in their efforts to destroy discrimination by the present seniority clauses, which, in most

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Brass Hats Hoped to Raise GI Morale, Inflame Public

Because the U.S. atrocity story turned out to be a fake, it will not achieve the aim its authors had in mind, which was to reduce the pressure to end the Korean war.

The brass hats hoped that the atrocity hoax would counteract the sag in the morale of the U.S. troops, who have been complaining about the stalling maneuvers of their commanders in the cease-fire negotiations.

They hoped that it would inflame public opinion at home, where Gallup polls continue to show that the vast majority of the people think the Korean war is "useless" and want the GI's brought home.

And they hoped that it would allay the doubts and fears of their European allies, who are justifiably apprehensive over Washington's persistent efforts to stymie the chances of an armistice in Korea.

AN OBVIOUS FRAUD

But the atrocity was such an obvious fraud that its only effect can be to increase the suspicions of the American people that the brass hats are trying by hook or by crook to create a situation where they will be able to flout the anti-war sentiments of the people.

It has already had that effect in Europe. Unlike the American press, which ran sensational headlines over a story they knew had not been confirmed, the British gave the incident a cool reception. To "many Britons" the whole thing looked like evidence "of bungling propaganda or of a deliberate effort to sabotage the (Korean) negotiations." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 17)

Distrust of Washington's aggressive policy has also been reflected in a more critical attitude by British Labor Party leaders in Parliament, and by pressure which resulted, three days after the hoax story was published, in Ridgway's latest proposal for a 30-day period during which an agreement is to be sought on remaining issues in dispute in Korea. A UP dispatch from Panmunjom, dated Nov. 17, explains that this "UN proposal apparently was drafted originally by other members of the UN with forces in Korea" and then was sent to Ridgway.

HOAX BACKFIRES

The atrocity hoax backfired so far as Europe was concerned. In the long run it will have the same result here. A policy that needs to be defended with lies is reactionary to the core, and will be repudiated by the American people who have already demonstrated in numerous ways that they want the slaughter ended in Korea without further delay.

Now 100,000!

American casualties in the 17th month of the Korean war now total over 100,000. This casualty rate in higher than World War II when the same number of U.S. casualties occurred in the 20th month of the war.

The number of killed and wounded keeps mounting each week. End the hideous slaughter in Korea! Demand that the American troops be returned home!

Life in Army Can Be Safe And Pleasant

By Fred Hart

Being drafted into the army doesn't have to mean killing or being killed in Korea, occupation duty in Germany or even separation from one's family at some God-forsaken army post in the States. It doesn't mean any of these things if the draftee knows how to avoid it. One of the best ways of escaping the harsher aspects of army life is to have a U.S. Senator for a father. Take the case of Mark F. Gillette, for example.

Pvt. Gillette was clever enough to be the son of Senator Guy Gillette (Dem.-Iowa). Through his father's influence he was made personnel clerk at Fort McNair. Since very few GIs ever heard of Fort McNair it should be explained that it is within walking distance of the Capitol where Sen. Gillette is a big shot. As Washington columnist Robert Allen points out: "Pvt. Gillette got this prize assignment directly through the influence of his father. . . The Pentagon is always willing to do a favor for an influential member of Congress."

Young Gillette was drafted in Iowa but curiously enough was sent for basic training to Fort Pickett, Va. — "within easy commuting distance" of Washington and Papa. Most of Pvt. Gillette's fellow basic trainees were shipped overseas.

Senator Gillette supports the "police action" in Korea — but for other people's sons.

DR. DUBOIS ACQUITTED; ROGGE ACTS AS STOOLIE

The Truman administration's frameup trial of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, distinguished educator, and four of his associates in the Peace Information Center, collapsed on Nov. 20 when U.S. District Judge McGuire ruled that the government had failed to prove its charges.

The Center, which was dissolved over a year ago, circulated the Stockholm Peace Appeal, asking people to sign petitions in favor of banning the atom bomb. Determined to silence everyone who speaks or acts against war, the U.S. government has brought DuBois and his associated to trial in Washington on charges of failing to register as "foreign agents" — the alleged "foreign principal" being the World Congress of Peace Partisans, which initiated the Stockholm petition.

After the government had presented its case to the jury, Judge McGuire threw it out and ordered an acquittal, saying, "If I permitted this case to go to the jury I should permit them to speculate on a speculation."

The trial was notable in two ways. It was the first important case that ended in a victory for free speech since the witch hunt started four years ago. And it was a case in which O. John Rogge, former pride and joy of numerous Stalinist front organizations, turned up as chief witness and informer for the government.

Rogge was not only a willing but an eager witness for the government. From 1948 to the Korean war, he was a prominent figure in the "peace congresses" sponsored by the Stalinists and served as a vice-president of the World Congress of Peace Partisans. In 1950, he became a counsel for the Yugoslav government and, along with other Wallaceites, broke definitively with the Stalinists after the Korean war began.

Taking the stand in Washington, Rogge described the congresses he had participated in between 1948 and 1950, and began to volunteer the names of Americans who attended them. The judge had to remind the ardent informer that "these persons are not on trial here."

The gist of Rogge's testimony was that the World Congress and its subsidiaries, including the Peace Information Center, were "an agency of Soviet foreign policy." But he was more eager than effective.

Under cross-examination by defense counsel Vito Marcantonio, Rogge had to admit that in March 1950, when he became a counsel for the Yugoslav government and registered as such, he had sworn in a statement filed with the Department of Justice that:

"I did attend peace conferences in Paris, Prague and Wraclaw, but I do not regard these organizations as a foreign government, political party or principal."

In other words, he swore in 1950 that the World Congress of Peace Partisans was NOT a "foreign principal" and he swore in 1951 that it was.

Such occurrences are not uncommon among informers. They become so eager to put the finger on someone that they forget what they said last time, a week ago or a year ago. The government's star stoolpigeon, Louis Budenz, has also been tripped up in this way on some occasions.

The Stalinists are jubilant about Rogge's infamous role at the DuBois trial. It enables them

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Steelworkers Lead CIO Fight Against Wage Freeze

By Cy Thomas

The impending steel wage dispute is moving toward a showdown which has all the ingredients of a major labor crisis.

Next week, the CIO United Steel Workers Wage Policy Committee will present their demands for a new contract embodying "substantial" wage increases. The union has indicated it is prepared to strike for these demands, if necessary.

UP TO GOVERNMENT

The arrogant steel barons are talking tough. Benjamin Fairless of U.S. Steel and Eugene Grace of Bethlehem, spokesmen for Big and Little Steel, have come out flatly against the steel workers demands. There will be no wage increase, they say, without a price increase. It's up to the government to decide.

The government, in the person of industrialist Charles E. Wilson, Truman's Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, has declared a steel strike will not be tolerated. Any dispute would have to be resolved by the Wage Stabilization Board.

The Wage Stabilization Board, in the person of its chairman, Nathan P. Feinsinger, advises: "Go ahead and bargain collectively. Strikes are still lawful. But after you've agreed on a wage increase, maybe the government will let you put it into effect, and maybe it won't."

NUB OF PROBLEM

Where does all this leave the steelworkers? In his comments at the recent CIO convention on the steel wage dispute Philip Murray unwittingly put his finger on the nub of the problem. "The heavy hand of government," he said, "lurks forever around the corner. It may have a bludgeon in its hand ready to bash our brains in with. . . " The fight against the wage freeze is a fight against the government. And Murray must have been ruefully reminded of the bludgeon-jobs by his friend Truman on John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers, under similar circumstances.

The CIO is lined up solidly behind the steelworkers. Practically every CIO union has wage cases pending before the WSB. Their fate will, in large measure, depend on the outcome of the steel wage dispute. One thing is sure, in the approaching conflict, only the use of massive power will decide the issue in favor of labor.

TEST OF EXPERIENCE

Experience has shown that under present conditions, the little strike, the one-at-a-time strike, the half-way strike, only succeeds in demoralizing the workers. The CIO United Automobile Workers, for example, have gone through a number of such experiences recently.

The aircraft workers at the Douglas plant in Long Beach, California, were on strike for six weeks before the dispute was certified to the WSB and Reuther sent the men back to work. The same thing happened to ten thousand members of UAW Local 669 at the Wright Aeronautical plant in New Jersey who were sent back after being out three weeks. Ditto for the workers at ten Borg-Warner plants striking for industry-wide bargaining.

NO PERCENTAGE

If the dispute is to be decided in Washington what is the percentage in walking a picket line for three to six weeks. Why not get it before the WSB to begin with? For, as the chairman of the WSB says, even if the strike succeeds in wresting a wage increase from the employer, "maybe the government will let you put it into effect, and maybe it won't." What then is accomplished by risking a strike, loss of pay and possible smashing of the union?

According to the procedure adopted by the WSB the Board can assume jurisdiction only by unanimous consent of its members or through the intervention of President Truman. If a voluntary agreement is signed it must be submitted to the Board for approval. If no agreement can be reached the strike becomes the means through which the Board is enabled to intervene. The Board then refuses to "process" the case until the workers return to the job. The whole set-up is rigged against the workers.

A FLAGRANT EXAMPLE

Consider, for example, the case of the UAW dispute with some 18 plants in the copper and brass industry. When the strike was called off at the insistence of the WSB the companies refused to reinstate a number of workers active in the strike.

In a letter to the WSB the UAW International Executive Board complained: "We have done our part. It is now up to the Board to see that the companies do theirs. The Board cannot retain the respect of the workers of America, or for that matter, its own self respect if it allows employers to victimize workers who pay heed to the Board's urgings to recess their strikes pending hearings on the merits of the issues in dispute."

Over ten thousand cases are now piled up before the Board. Bargaining between individual union and employer leads to Washington. Behind each employer stands the government, bludgeon in hand, ready to beat down every attempt to breach the wage freeze. United, concerted, nationwide action is required to win this fight. The steelworkers are spearheading the struggle. The CIO has the power to win, if it has the will.

Notebook of an Agitator

THE PROTESTANT COUNTER-ATTACK

In the present cold war, which is getting hotter all the time, those who rely on what they hear and read must believe that the United States Government is the champion of freedom and democracy. That's what the leaders of the people — the statesmen, the big press and the labor leaders — say all the time. They can't all be liars. Or can they?

To be sure, the aggressions of our government against China — just to take one example — would seem to contradict the noble pretentions of our leaders. But to this skeptical suggestion they have a handy answer: That's in another country; and, besides, the Chinese, as Secretary Acheson put it so felicitously at the United Nations in Paris last week, are some sort of subhumans, below "the general level of barbarism."

But now we have a red-hot issue of democracy and freedom right here in our own country. This issue has been hurled into the political arena by President Truman's nomination of a United States ambassador to the Vatican. What have our leaders got to say about this concession to reactionary clericalism? Nothing very direct and straight-forward; instead, a chorus of silence and evasion.

The politicians and the labor leaders have stood mute, as the lawyers say, or dummied up as some other people would put it, as though they didn't hear the question. The metropolitan press on the whole, led by the **New York Times**, cautiously supports the appointment as "an experiment worth trying" without stating the real issue. With that unctuous hypocrisy and specious reasoning which are the trademark of the **Times'** editorial page, it is represented that "our envoy will be the Ambassador to State of Vatican City," and not "to the Roman Catholic Church." This distinction without a difference is a rather untimely joke, serving only to irritate people who take a serious issue seriously.

Putting the Issue Squarely

In this situation the Protestant clergymen have stepped forward as the defenders of the democratic tradition so crudely violated by Truman's decision. No doubt religious animosities will be inflamed at some of the lower levels of the fight; and no good can come of that. But the most authoritative and influential spokesmen of American Protestantism are putting the issue squarely on political grounds. They are speaking out fearlessly like real statesmen, putting the cowering politicians and labor skates to shame. And they are being heard.

On Reformation Sunday, Oct. 28, commemorating the day in 1517 that Luther "nailed his theses to the door," the congregations of 8,000 Protestant churches across the country were rallied in a demonstration against the President's action. Petitions to be sent to Washington were signed on church steps. The preachers have their fighting clothes on. They know what the fight is about, and they are pulling no punches.

The Rev. Dr. Robert J. McCracken, minister of the Riverside Church in New York, in his Reformation Sunday sermon, said the Catholic Church is making an "open bid for power and dominance in this country," of which the Truman nomination of an ambassador to Rome was "only the latest example." He called on the Protestant churches in this country to "build up a resistance movement" against the "encroachments" of the Catholic hierarchy. "There will have to be some plain speaking," said the Rev. Doc, and he proceeded to speak, plainly and truthfully, as follows:

"Ceaseless, Surreptitious Pressure"

"With the tide running against it in Europe, its stronghold for centuries, Roman Catholicism is engaged in ceaseless surreptitious pressure to obtain a position of preference and control in the New World. Nor can there be any doubt as to the success attending its efforts.

"It has an astonishing hold over the machinery of American life — the press, the radio, the films, the whole field of public relations. It is constantly bringing its weight to bear on local, state and national officials, on the political machines which rule many of our cities, on labor unions, welfare agencies, teachers' organizations. . . It is high time Protestants realized that Rome has established itself as an independent empire in the United States."

Other preachers, from one end of the country to the other, have spoken out in the same tone of "God's angry men." But the clearest, sharpest and most political argument and denunciation came, as was to be expected, from Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist Bishop of New York.

This man is a tough fighter and no respecter of persons. He practically challenges Truman to take off his coat and grab his best hold for a rough-and-tumble. In his blistering declaration there is no tone of subservience, or even of respect, for the present occupant of Blair House. Truman may be President of the United States by accident, but Oxnam is Bishop of the Methodist Church by the grace of God, and he speaks from a superior position.

He starts out by flatly accusing Truman of lying and breaking his promises to Protestant leaders. Writing in **The Nation**, Nov. 3, the Bishop says:

"He told one of the most influential religious leaders of the nation in the early summer that the issue of an ambassador to the Vatican was dead. He told another leader that as long as he was President there would never be an ambassador to the Vatican."

The implication is obvious. Powerful pressure must have been put on Truman by the Vatican and the Catholic hierarchy in this country. But this over-bold aggression of abhorrent clericalism brought an unexpected reaction. The Protestant clergymen are hot under their ministerial collars and up and jumping, with the great Bromley out in front. He calls for a **political** fight without compromise. Says the Bishop:

On Political Grounds

"The American people will not be led down the road to Rome. . . Protestants will fight the confirmation of General Clark and, if needs be, will carry this issue to the American people for final decision."

Leaving theological differences entirely aside, he puts the issue where it belongs on politica and democratic grounds:

"The road to Rome leads to clericalism. Hierarchies are characterized by lust for power, property, and prestige. Clericalism is 'the pursuit of power, especially political power, by a religious hierarchy, carried on by secular methods and for purposes of social domination.' Protestants are resolved that clericalism shall not take root in this land and that their own freedom shall not be placed in jeopardy."

Bishop Bromley is not taken in for a minute by the pretense that General Clark has been nominated to the "State of Vatican City," and not to the Vatican as Church, as the **Times** editorial writer sosphistically explains with tongue in cheek. "No amount of casuistical camouflage can conceal the fact that when the United States government sends an ambassador to the Vatican, it is actually sending a representative to the Roman Catholic church."

Again on the same point:

"The Roman Catholic hierarchy is not content with spiritual power. It demands temporal power. The present Pope bargained with Mussolini and got a few acres of land and sovereign right thereto. The so-called state is a subterfuge. It is the church in politics. It is the repudiation of the American conception of separation of church and state."

The Road to Rome

From start to finish of his militant manifesto, the political-minded Bishop is in there crowding his opponent and forcing the fight all the way. He winds up with a wallop:

"The road to Rome leads to an alliance with a church that is itself, as a vast landholder, allied with the reaction in Europe that has often stood against the reform necessary to establish the free society."

That thesis will be hard to counter, for it states the simple truth — as far as it goes. The Bishop could have added that the U.S. government is already allied on the international field with the "vast landholder" and power-house of reaction centered in the Vatican. That's one of the main reasons why the million-masses of exploited workers and land-hungry peasants throughout the world are against America.

When the working people of this country realize the full implications of the move to extend this reactionary alliance to our own soil, and thus to strengthen the trend to reactionary clericalism here, they will have no choice but to join Bishop Oxnam and the rest of the Protestant clergy in the fight against it. If the workers want to know what clerical domination means, let them take one good look at Spain.

The Protestant leaders don't go all the way but as far as they go it is in the right direction and their fight on this issue is the people's fight too.

— J. P. C.

$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Newark	$ 500	$ 322	64
Pittsburgh	50	30	60
Akron	150	80	53
Chicago	1,000	475	48
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	444	44
Flint	350	134	39
Milwaukee	250	98	39
Youngstown	350	120	34
St. Louis	100	30	30
Connecticut	75	20	27
Philadelphia	400	99	25
Los Angeles	2,600	610	23
Detroit	1,500	324	22
Seattle	400	82	21
New York	5,000	983	20
Toledo	50	10	20
Buffalo	1,000	190	19
Boston	550	97	18
Cleveland	300	32	11
San Francisco	1,000	45	5
Allentown	75	0	0
Oakland	150	0	0
General	1,150	200	17
Total through Nov. 19	$18,000	$4,425	25

SWP Organization-Press Fund at Quarter Mark

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party collected $784 during the week on their quotas in the 3-month $18,000 Organization and Press Fund. The scoreboard shows a national total of $4,425 paid through Nov. 19 — 25% at the end of the fifth week. At this point each and every branch should have 39% of its quota fulfilled in order to be on schedule in the campaign. Only seven branches are on schedule or ahead.

Newark branch, far ahead of schedule with 64% of their $500 quota, didn't wait for the campaign to start, but began collecting on pledges early in September. And since then they have been regular as rain in making and transmitting weekly collections.

The **Pittsburgh** comrades didn't let any grass grow under their feet either. They have fulfilled 60% of their quota already.

Akron, high on the scoreboard with 53%, got there by getting an early start.

Hildegarde writes for the **Chicago** comrades: "Check for $64 enclosed. I hoped it would be more this week since collections last week were not up to expectations. Just hope we don't drop below fourth place!" Your hopes have materialized, Hildegarde. Chicago holds fourth place with 48%.

The **St. Paul-Minneapolis** comrades have been shooting in enough money each week to keep the Twin Cities ahead of schedule. They have completed 44% of their $1,000 quota.

Flint and **Milwaukee**, tied for sixth place in this week's scoreboard, are on schedule with 39%. Comrade **Genora** says: "You won't have to worry about the Flint branch. We may not break any records this time, but by George! we'll keep on schedule!" To be on schedule is good enough.

Letters from the branches show they are determined to step up payments on their Organization and Press Fund quotas.

Comrade **Alma** explains that the **Philadelphia** branch is "very unhappy about not being at the one-third mark in time for last week's scoreboard. . . We generally get off to a slow start on these things, so I can only say that we will do better as we go along."

M. Baker writes for the **Detroit** branch: "We're off to a slow start on the fund, but hope to pick up speed soon."

Sally C. of **Boston** airmailed a $34 payment, saying: "The Boston branch will try to do better in their payments."

A group of Socialist Workers Party supporters in the South sent in a $200 contribution, boosting "General" to 17%. Thanks a lot for this needed contribution.

Titoist Faction Splits German Independent Workers Party

By M. Blanchard

The capitulationist evolution of Yugoslav foreign policy has not failed in having its disastrous effects on the limited sectors of the international working class movement influenced by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. In order to impose its "general line" on these circles, its emissaries have had to intervene with brutality, cynicism and bureaucratic methods which resemble on every score the methods utilized by the Communist International during the last stages of its degeneration.

In Italy, the Titoists simply eliminated the paper **Politica Nuova** and the organization around it, following a national conference of this movement which had rejected the Titoist proposals for unification with the social patriotic organization headed by Magnani-Cucchi-Silone.

In Germany, they are now engaged in scuttling the very hopeful attempt to reconstruct a class party, by taking the road to a split with the revolutionary Marxists in the UAP (Independent Workers' Party).

DEEP RIFTS HIDDEN

Even before the founding convention of the UAP (Easter 1951), it appeared that deep ideological rifts were thinly concealed behind the regroupment of independent communist and socialist forces on which the party was based.

On the one side were all the revolutionary Marxists of extremely varied backgrounds (Trotskyists, former members of opposition groups, former leaders of the CP, etc.) who desired to build a revolutionary party basing itself on the entire tradition of German and international communism and who, for this purpose, demanded the elaboration of a principled class program.

On the other side there were lined up all the opportunist or disillusioned elements who accorded only secondary importance to principles, program and theory and who hoped to build a "broad popular movement" by first setting up a powerful and well-paid apparatus.

This conception, inherited by the Titoists from the Stalinist "Peoples Front" period, which they looked back to nostalgically, is not only contrary to the interests of the workers; it is even more absurd in a country like Germany where the social democracy with analagous methods and a similar "program," backed up by its old cadres who are solidly rooted in the workers' movement, bars the road to any new party which tries to be a miniature edition of it.

Because the programmatic discussions which had preceded the founding congress of the party had led to an impasse and threatened to prevent the very founding of the party; because the revolutionary Marxists were convinced that the experience of life would rapidly demonstrate to all healthy elements in the UAP how inoperative and ineffective the "Titoist" conceptions were, the two wings of the organization came to a compromise at the founding congress itself.

They merely adopted a platform which, beside a general declaration of principles, contained only a program of immediate and transitional demands. They decided that a broad programmatic discussion on all the questions in dispute — perspective and character of the new party, international perspectives, the USSR, and Stalinism, the Korean war, the Yugoslav question — would be organized immediately after the convention and that the party would democratically decide its differences in the course of a free discussion.

It soon became clear that the predictions of the revolutionary Marxists regarding the absurdity of the "Titoist" conceptions on the building of the UAP were verified to the letter. The new organization began to stagnate from its very birth. Worse yet: Attracting certain backward and completely apolitical elements, it lost valuable cadres who came from the communist movement and were seriously rooted in the trade union movement. It did not succeed in winning over the numerous members of the factory councils who were outside both the CP and the SP and who constitute the natural nucleus for a new class party.

PAPER GETS TAMER

To do this, it would have been necessary to put forward a political line and clear perspectives. Instead of that, **Freie Tribune**, the UAP's newspaper, became tamer from week to week, dropping its agitation even for the immediate and transitional demands adopted at the foundation convention and losing itself in philandering phraseology about an abstract "socialism" and in sermons "against the two blocs."

There was only one way to make the party conscious of this danger and to reverse its course before it was too late: to immediately open on as broad a scale as possible the democratic discussion which had been solemnly promised at the founding convention of the party. In many branches discussions started spontaneously among the membership. Nothing would have been easier than for the leadership to generalize and lead this discussion by clearly taking positions on the debated problems.

But the bureaucrats who led the UAP were frightened at the idea of such a discussion. As worthy heirs of Stalinism, they viewed it as "disintegrating" at the very time that their own line was demoralizing the entire organization. They attributed the stagnation of the organization, against which the ranks had begun to react, to the "discussion atmosphere." The Yugoslav emissaries did not fail to fan the flames and to brutally demand a break with the "Trotskyist splitters."

On August 25, a meeting of the secretariat of the UAP was suddenly convened. On the basis of a slanderous report of pure Stalinist vintage, and basing themselves on the demand of a provincial leadership which had been elected by a faked vote, the Titoist majority demanded the exclusion of Georg Jungclass, former secretary of the Trotskyist organization and representative of the revolutionary Marxist wing in the leadership of the party.

Following his exclusion from the secretariat by a vote of 5 against 2 with 2 abstentions, Heinrich Bixl, a second revolutionary Marxist member of the secretariat left this body of his own accord as it had in reality become nothing but a faction leadership.

What remained of the secretariat then adopted a resolution for a "break with Trotskyism," declaring that the ideas of the Fourth International on the defense of the USSR were "incompatible with the platform of the UAP" — which never took a position either on the character nor on the defense of the USSR, a problem which was never discussed in the UAP! This resolution was published in **Freie Tribune** and — significantly disclosing the intentions of its authors — sent to the capitalist press.

WORKERS PROTEST

The Titoist faction in the UAP had counted on a brief and peaceful "cleansing" of the party. To its great surprise it was to learn that the German revolutionary vanguard, steeped in its experiences with the bureaucratic apparatuses of the SP and the CP, was no longer to be duped by the miserable maneuvers of functionaries trying to execute the orders of foreign powers, even of workers' states, in the workers' movement. Protest resolutions adopted by the important sections of the party — Berlin, Hamburg, Cologne, Frankfort, Regensburg, Bremerhaven, etc. — began to pour into the office of the secretariat at Duesseldorf.

On Sept. 22 and 23, meeting in Cologne, the representatives of the sections and of the revolutionary Marxist tendency in the UAP unanimously adopted a resolution denouncing the lying, factional and bureaucratic character of the Aug. 28th decisions of the secretariat, pointing out that these decisions were in flagrant violation of the platform and the statutes of the party and demanding their immediate revocation, the reestablishment of freedom of discussion in the party, the immediate organization of the programmatic discussion and the convocation of an emergency convention to decide all questions in dispute.

The openly splitting course of the Titoist faction of the UAP will not prevent the important revolutionary Marxist forces in the party from continuing their efforts to build the nucleus for the new leadership of the German proletariat.

Translated from Quatrieme Internationale

Los Angeles Meeting Greets Myra Weiss at Tour's End

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 18 — Myra Tanner Weiss, chairman of the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles, closed her national tour for socialism on Friday night before a very receptive and eager audience.

The mood of confidence in the victory of socialism which characterized her speech strongly affected her audience. It met with a willing response by the workers who are looking for fighters who are serious about getting rid of capitalism. "Just as the 1930's — in which the CIO arose — is known as the period when the mass of workers became union conscious," said comrade Weiss, "the 1950's will be known as the period in which the working class began to advance toward political consciousness."

WORKERS WILL FIGHT

Mrs. Weiss went on to show that only the force of the working class has prevented the outbreak of the third world war, and explained that the main purpose of the witch-hunt coming from Washington is an attempt to crush the organizations of the workers who are paying for the war program with both blood and money. She predicted that the mighty American labor movement will not be intimidated into silence so easily and will lead many battles to defend the living standards of the workers.

Speaking for the National Militant Fund drive, Murry Weiss showed the similarity in the aims of the tour, and the maintenance of the paper, both of which help to spread our ideas. He compared the struggle for socialism, beginning with Marx and Engels in 1848 with that of a courageous doctor living at the same period.

In the middle of the 19th century, Dr. Semmelweis discovered the cause of child bed fever, the killer of about 30% of the mothers in hospitals, and showed that the doctors themselves were carrying it from patient to patient. The remedy consisted simply in having the doctors wash their hands before treating their patients. This simple procedure, which no one would question today, aroused the wrath of official society which hounded and persecuted him to the end of his days. Just as Dr. Semmelweis's ideas finally found acceptance because he was right, the hounding of revolutionists today will not prevent the victory of their ideas which express the direction in which society is travelling.

Making an appeal for the fund, Murry Weiss showed how vital it was to continue our work of education under any and all circumstances. As a result, the audience contributed generously, part of the collection going to the Militant fund and part for the expenses of the tour.

The meeting was chaired by Milt Alvin, acting organizer in Los Angeles. As a whole it was outstanding in its spirit of enthusiasm, especially in comparison with the gloom and hopelessness coming from Washington. At the end of the evening, we had one new member, and a number of new subscribers to the **Militant**.

DuBois Acquitted, Rogge Stoolpigeon

(Continued from Page 1)

once more to repeat their false claim that whoever opposes their policy inevitably ends up in the camp of imperialism and reaction.

But it embarrasses them too. Because Rogge became well known in this country only as a result of the publicity and praise they heaped upon him. Here is how they tried to explain away Rogge's "career of perfidy" in the Nov. 16 **Daily Worker:**

"For a time, this character pretended to be part of the peace camp, holding 'honest differences' with the organizations in which he worked. This former official in the Justice Department succeeded in taking in many people for a while since obviously the peace camp is so big that there are bound to be plenty of honest differences within it."

But the people who were most "taken in" by Rogge were the Stalinists themselves. If Rogge were the only one of this kind, his case might be dismissed as accidental. But the fact is that he is just one of many whom the Stalinists have tried to palm off as "progressive" because he was willing to go along with them on one point or another.

Henry Wallace is another of the same type — capitalist politicians whom the Stalinists hail and support and build up in the eyes of the public as "fighters for peace and democracy" but at a crucial moment always stick a knife into the backs of the Stalinists and the workers who listen to them.

It is a case of "perfidy" all right. But the Stalinists are just as guilty of it as the capitalist politicians whom they cheered yesterday and damn today. None of their present denunciations of Rogge can wipe out the record of their past alliances with him. Nor do they obscure the fact that even today they are hunting high and low to find another, not-yet-discredited capitalist politician like Rogge or Wallace to run with their support as presidential candidate on a "peace" ticket in 1952.

Letters from Readers

Five Groups in S. F. Youth Forum

Editor: An audience of 45 young people heard a debate on "What Youth Wants" at the First Unitarian Church. Participating in the debate were the Young Republicans, Young Democrats, Labor Youth League (Stalinist), Young People's League (Socialist Party) and the Socialist Workers Party. The audience was attentive and definitely had left-wing tendencies.

The Young Democrats and Republicans were exposed on foreign policy and civil rights. Their only defense was that they spoke for themselves and not for their parties. The Labor Youth League speaker boasted he was a champion of civil rights. When the SWP speaker pointed out that the Stalinists didn't support James Kutcher, legless veteran who was fired from his job with the Veterans Administration because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, the Stalinist reply was to slander Kutcher as an agent of the FBI who couldn't be trusted.

When asked why the Stalinists didn't defend the 18 SWP members indicted under the Smith Act in 1941 and sent to prison, the Labor Youth League representative said that he hadn't been around then and didn't know too much about the case. It was shown that the SWP supported the fight to defend the 11 leaders of the Communist Party when they were indicted under the Smith Act.

This is the first meeting of this type seen in San Francisco for many years. This type of meeting is refreshing today when we have a drive toward regimentation of the right to freedom of speech.

Dick Berger
San Francisco, Calif.

THE ROAD TO PEACE

by James P. Cannon

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Mr. Dewey: Apostle of War

Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York is one of the main cogs in the Republican team now booming Eisenhower for president. Dewey represents the so-called "liberal" or "internationalist" wing of the Republican party. Like his patrons in Wall Street, Dewey is global-minded. No "isolationist" nonsense for him. And that goes for his candidate.

Dewey did some plain talking in a speech last week before the New York State chapter, American Women in Radio and Television. Everybody is asking the question, he said, "if we're going to have World War III." That, he answered, "is a stupid question. We are now in World War III on a vast scale — the worst kind of a propaganda, insurrectionist, treasonable war and the question is will it turn into total, atomic war."

This conclusion, he asserted, was based on his own observation during his sixty-day 41,000-mile tour of the Pacific during which he "visited fourteen nations, colonies and territories including the battle-ground of Korea." To Mr. Dewey, the struggle of the Asian masses for national independence and freedom from imperialist exploitation is, "the worst kind of a propaganda, insurrectionist, treasonable war." And in a way he's right. It all depends on where you stand.

From the viewpoint of Wall Street the revolt of the Asian masses against imperialist domination is everything Dewey says it is. From the viewpoint of the colonial slaves, the poverty-ridden, oppressed and exploited workers and peasants, it is a just, noble and progressive war of liberation. We take our stand with the Asian masses.

Mr. Dewey is right — there is no peace in Asia. Nor in the Middle East, nor in Europe, Africa, nor the Americas. Capitalism breeds war; capitalism is war. There can be no peace between master and slave; between exploiter and exploited; between capital and labor.

Capitalism is a rapacious monster whose insatiable appetite grows with the number of victims on which it feeds. Imperialist rivalry for new markets, sources of raw material, new fields of capital investment and areas of exploitation, brought two World Wars in a single generation. But there is no peace!

Mr. Acheson in Paris says the United Nations disarmament plan will bring peace. Mr. Acheson lies.

Mr. Vishinsky says the Russian disarmament plan will ensure "peaceful co-existence." Mr. Vishinsky lies.

So long as capitalism exists there can be no peace. Only socialism can bring peace.

Politics and the Unions

During the recent CIO convention in New York, Emil Mazey made headlines with a speech opposing the candidacy of General Eisenhower in the coming presidential elections. The Secretary-Treasurer of the United Auto Workers drew upon his own experience as an enlisted man in the armed forces and came to this conclusion: " . . .no man who reaches the position of a general, who has spent his entire life in the environment of the caste system and dictatorship of the Army has the proper basic training to be President of the United States."

This speech sounded a long-overdue warning in the labor movement. Workers will agree with the reasoning of Mazey in opposing the trend towards militarization of the political life of the U.S.

The same speech contained some other remarks that were not so well publicized. Mazey, in discussing the resolution of the CIO convention on political action, refers without explanation to "our failure on the legislative front."

What did he mean by this remark? He was talking about the failure of the labor movement to make any substantial dent in politics under the present policy of the labor leadership, both in the CIO and the AFL.

This failure has been so widely recognized, that Democratic and Republican politicians pay very little attention to the recommendations of CIO and AFL leaders when choosing candidates. The general trend of both major parties is towards the choice of reactionary and anti-labor candidates.

More important, even when the labor movement succeeds in electing a so-called "friend of labor," such as President Truman, the elected official goes right ahead and operates as a servant of anti-labor forces.

Mazey, in his speech, points out how Truman has served the big business interests. He says:

"We can cite instance after instance where the President has had the opportunity of placing people in government to properly protect the interests of workers, but instead of that he has repeatedly given to big business, responsibilities that affect the lives of the majority of the people of our country."

These remarks in Mazey's speech are only a tiny sample of the results of the present political policy of the labor leadership. It is no wonder that Mazey lets slip the remark about "our failure on the legislative front."

What does Mazey propose to do about this failure? From this same speech, it would appear that he intends to do nothing. Speaking about the CIO Convention resolution on political action, he says: "I say that our resolution on political action is a good resolution." Why he says this about a resolution which proposes no change in a policy which has led to self-admitted "failure on the legislative front" he does not make clear.

Capitalist political parties were never intended to serve the interests of the labor movement. On the contrary, their function is to keep the workers in subjection to the exploiters of labor. The only way to reverse the anti-labor and reactionary trend in the country today is for labor to build its own independent political party: the Independent Labor Party.

Moving Up

ANEURIN BEVAN

Aneurin Bevan and the British Elections

By Paul G. Stevens

Two figures towered above all the rest in the voluminous accounts of the recent British elections. One was the familiar Winston Churchill, leader of the Conservative (Tory) Party that was returned to power by a narrow margin. The other was a relative newcomer on the world political scene: Aneurin Bevan, former Minister of Health, and later of Labor, whose dramatic resignation from the Attlee government last April brought him into the international limelight for the first time.

American newspapers described Churchill as "pro-American," while Bevan was painted up as "anti-American" in the oversimplified way characteristic of the treatment given foreign news these days. The unrestrained jubilation over Churchill's victory was shared by the reactionary N. Y. Daily News as well as by the liberal N. Y. Post. But this joy was somewhat dampened by the huge popular vote of the defeated Labor Party, greater than that of the victorious Tories, and more particularly by the showing of Bevan and his friends.

BEVAN GROUP WINS

Churchill's Conservatives won out mainly by gobbling up most of the following of what had once been the second great party of Great Britain's capitalist class, the Liberal Party. Labor's massive vote, on the other hand, was accompanied by generally unexpected victories for candidates associated with Bevan's Left Wing in shaky "marginal" constituencies. These were electoral districts of the same type as those in which the official Labor leadership dropped some twenty seats to the Tory-Liberal combination, and thus made possible Churchill's majority in Parliament. The staid and sober London Times summed up this aspect of the election results in the following succinct editorial comment:

"Almost as remarkable as the virtual extinction of the Liberal Party — and as full of significance for the future — has been the triumph of Mr. Bevan and his associates. . . (The latter) were all defending marginal seats, and all succeeded in retaining them. It cannot be just a coincidence — nor only a tribute to their vigorous personalities — that being so perilously placed, they yet managed to survive when the swing of opinion, if it had run against them as against others, would have been large enough to oust at least three of them. It would seem clear in fact that there is among the rank and file of the Labor supporters in the country considerable sympathy for. . . the case put by Mr. Bevan and his friends. . . (His) position is obviously strengthened . . . and when the great debate in the Labor party is resumed he can pose even more confidently than ever as the spokesman of the real heart of the Labor movement. If it were not for the success of Mr. Bevan's group, the Labor Party leaders could draw considerable consolation from the results."

MIDDLE CLASS SUPPORT

What this sensitive organ of capitalist public opinion is here confirming is important: By demonstrating in the elections that they could win in "marginal" constituencies — in which the middle class (petty bourgeois) vote tips the scales — the Left Wing of Aneurin Bevan disproved the whole wisdom of the old Attlee leadership. The Attlee policy was based on blurring class divisions, on going slow and calling a halt to socialist measures — all in order not to antagonize the "floating middle class vote." That policy lost marginal seats, and thus governmental power.

The Bevan policy of "more socialism" and sharper attacks on capitalism retained similar seats. It was almost a pure laboratory test. It offered statistical proof that if the vacillating sectors of society were to be won over firmly to Labor's side, only a more resolute socialist, anti-capitalist policy could do it. The Labor leadership's reformist half-measures and conciliation with capitalism could only repel them.

"Bevanism" not only swung the uncertain middle class elements where it had the opportunity, it also heartened and galvanized the staunch working class core everywhere. As our London correspondent reported in **The Militant** two weeks ago, Labor "scraped the barrel" in the solid industrial districts. "Bevanism" halted the swing to the Right — indicated by all the public opinion polls — instead of accelerating it, as the capitalists hoped. It thus opened up a new path for the British workers out of the dead-end into which they had been led by the old Attlee leadership.

MIRRORS BRITISH LABOR

"Bevanism" has been described variously and vaguely — as "demagogic anti-Americanism" by capitalist opponents, and as 'more socialism" by working class sympathizers. Such descriptions, like all pat attempts to sum up views on a whole range of social and political questions, are much too simple to be adequate. But they contain more than a grain of truth. They reflect widespread moods of the British masses for whom Aneurin Bevan has become the outstanding spokesman. Nor is there anything accidental in Bevan's role. The British working class has reached a high point in what has been a rather steady leftward development for more than half a century. And Aneurin Bevan, whatever his faults or merits, mirrors that advance more faithfully than any other single personality in the British labor movement today.

(Next week: Bevan, The Man and His Record)

Kremlin Benefits from Yugoslav Foreign Policy

By George Clarke

The present accommodation of the Tito regime to western imperialism is a priceless service to the Kremlin. It is precisely the alternative desired by Stalin and Company once it proved impossible to force the dissident Yugoslavs to their knees in complete capitulation and unquestioning acceptance of Russian dictation. It provides the 'proof' Stalin has so badly needed since the end of the war to silence the discontent and criticism of his arbitrary, brutal methods, and his criminal policies, which has been rife in the world communist movement since the end of the war. You see, he says holding up Yugoslavia as "the horrible example," all those who dare criticize my policies or who dare demand any form of "equal rights" or independence must end up on the other side of the barricades.

KREMLIN SLANDER FLOOD

In reality it proves nothing of the kind. Only superficial thinkers or those easily browbeaten by ideological terror are taken in. The primary responsibility for Yugoslavia's adherence to the imperialist alignment rests with the Kremlin and not with the Tito regime. They did not voluntarily leave the Soviet bloc — they were thrown out. All their efforts to effect a reconciliation, after differences broke out into the open in 1948, were in vain. The Kremlin ordered the expulsion of the Yugoslav Communist Party from the Cominform; it broke off diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia; it took the offensive all along the line. Long before anyone knew the Yugoslav side of the story, Eastern Europe and the whole world was flooded with anti-Tito propaganda, typical of the lies and slanders the Stalinist leaders have hurled against their opponents over the years.

But that isn't all. By itself, the torrent of abuse would not have been sufficient to break a movement which had triumphed in a bitter civil war without much aid from the outside. Contrary to his attitude toward world capitalism, Stalin never does things by halves when he is confronted with opponents within the working class movement. He struck at Yugoslavia with his strongest weapon: economic terror. The Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries under its control broke off all trade relations with Yugoslavia. For a primarily agricultural country like Yugoslavia, the effects of this economic blockade were devastating. Yugoslavia depended on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union for manufactured goods; its plans for industrialization were hinged directly on the aid and cooperation of these countries.

Confronted with a developing crisis Yugoslavia was forced to turn to the capitalist west for assistance. Thus Stalin succeeded in manufacturing his "proofs." Let Yugoslavia go back to capitalism, let it become a military base of the Atlantic coalition against the Soviet Union — that was of less importance to him and the bureaucratic caste in the USSR than that the party and government of a workers' state should criticize his regime or demand equal rights with it, and get away with it.

THE STALIN LINE

Stalin not only did his utmost to force the Titoites onto their present course. It was he and his regime which blazed the trail for the Yugoslavs in theory and in practice. After all, they reasoned in Belgrade, if it is right for Moscow to compromise working class principles for the sake of "peaceful cohabitation with capitalism" why is it wrong for us? If it was right for Moscow to betray the Spanish workers before the war and the Greek workers after the war to save "socialism in the USSR" why is it wrong for us to sacrifice the interests of the Korean and Chinese peoples for the "higher interests of socialism in Yugoslavia"? If it was right for Stalin to paint up American imperialism as a great "democratic and peace-loving" force during the war why is it wrong for Tito to do so now?

Tito's capitulatory policy to imperialism has dozens of precedents in the history of Stalin's policy and is steeped in its opportunist "theoretical" rationalizations. It is proof essentially of the results of conformity with the school of Stalinism, not of dissent from it. Following a brief turn to revolutionary politics, and coming under terrific external and internal pressures, they struck out on a Stalinist not a Leninist road.

There are those who say with a gloomy fatalism: Tito should not have fought. Stalin was too powerful; Yugoslavia too small, too weak, too isolated. It was a losing battle. This is the timeworn formula of conservatives, not of radicals. It carries the fetid odor of defeatism, the very antithesis of revolutionary politics. It was in the teeth of such counsels of doom that the heroic Wobblies laid the foundations for present-day industrial unionism in our country; that Lenin and Trotsky, against insuperable odds, planted the banner of socialism in one of the poorest, most backward countries in the world. The socialist movement could not survive for long in America today were it to make the slightest concession to this defeatist philosophy.

The worst of this philosophy is that it gives Yugoslavia up for lost while the workers' state is still in existence in that country, while there is still a chance to save it from reconquest by capitalism. To be sure, the situation is a difficult one, the odds strong in favor of reaction. But if there is any chance of mobilizing the Yugoslav working masses against the restoration of the old regime to which the treacherous opportunism of their leadership is leading, it is not by preaching capitulation to Stalin, or accepting the fate of Rumania or Bulgaria. They will fight with the same indomitable courage they showed in the partisan struggles only if they believe that the price of their sacrifices for the anti-imperialist camp is not the crushing of their independence under the heel of the Kremlin. They need encouragement and support — and plenty of it — from the socialist and working class movement in the world; not gloomy "I-told-you-so's" that they should have never fought Stalin in the first place.

Whatever the fate of Yugoslavia, it has already made a priceless contribution to the struggle for socialism the world over, as precious as the contribution made by the Communards in Paris in a different way in the last century. It demonstrated that the power of great mass movements is mightier than any bureaucracy, that the extension of the socialist revolution whatever its immediate leadership, does not strengthen but undermines the rule of the Kremlin. The experience of the Yugoslav struggle has already had its effect on the greatest revolutionary upheaval in the world today, in China. Not the least of the reasons for the respectful distance Stalin has kept from the Chinese revolution and for Mao's unmistakable resistance to Kremlin domination has been — the Yugoslav experience.

The pattern of the future was shown in Yugoslavia's revolutionary resistance to the Moscow clique, not in Tito's present capitulatory policy to imperialism. This resistance will succeed, as China already partially demonstrates, when the arena of struggle is large enough and when great mass movements are brought into play.

THE TRUE FACTS ABOUT ATROCITIES IN KOREA

(Continued from Page 1)

kill Chinese and save ourselves." The author of this statement, made last Feb. 28, was the then 8th Army commander, Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway.

South Korean Atrocities

When we speak of atrocities in Korea, especially against prisoners, let us look also at the mountains of corpses heaped up by the puppet-regime of Synghman Rhee, armed, led and drilled by the U.S. high command. Here is an eye-witness account by Gordon Walker, **Christian Science Monitor** correspondent, published on July 15, 1950.

" . . .Just then a South Korean captain walks into the schoolhouse. . . He wants the colonel (U.S.) to give him permission to execute 600 prisoners. . . The colonel says he can't give him permission for a thing like that and adds that, besides, enemy encirclement is too imminent and he can't waste time on such matters. . . The captain scratches his head. 'Well,' he says, 'we will probably lose this town tonight, and if we let these Communist prisoners go we will probably wake up in the morning and find one under our bed with a rifle in his hand. . . I think I had better hurry back and finish up my little execution job.' "

The Militant has printed several times the notable account by John Osborne, senior Far East correspondent, in the Aug. 21, 1950, **Life** magazine, describing "our reliance on, or passive acquiescence in, the murderous habits and methods of our South Korean helpers" who "murder civilians simply to get them out of the way or to avoid the trouble of searching and cross-examining them. And they extort information. . . by means so brutal that they cannot be described. Too often they murder prisoners of war and civilians before they have had a chance to give any information they may have. . . "

Charles Grutzner, **N.Y. Times** correspondent, revealed on Sept. 29, 1950, "the slaughter of hundreds of South Korean civilians, women as well as men, by some U.S. troops and police of the Republic (Rhee regime)." **Time** magazine of Dec. 25, 1950, wrote that "since the liberation of Seoul last September, South Korean firing squads have been busy liquidating 'enemies of the state.' . . . With savage indifference, the military executioners shot men, women and children."

Operation Killer

But all else pales before the total atrocity which U.S. imperialism has visited on the civilians of Korea — two million slain, 10 million homeless in South Korea as a result of the deliberate "scorched earth" policy of the American military command. Only the day before Col. Hanley issued his fabricated report charging atrocities to the Chinese and North Koreans, the Nov. 13 **N.Y. Times** published a photograph which epitomized the real atrocity.

It showed a U.S. Marine helicopter hovering directly over a thatch-roofed hut in Korea and the caption read: "An airborne Marine demolition crew spraying a native hut with gasoline preparatory to setting it afire with a phosphorus grenade during drive on guerrilas. The movement was called 'Operation Rabbit-Hunt.' " The destruction of the Korean nation down to the last peasant hut and the burning out of the Korean people is viewed by the **Wall Street** marauders and vandals as nothing more than a hunt against rodent pests.

Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 3

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONIST

By Harry Frankel

From his young manhood on, Sam Adams made the fight against British oppression of the colonies his profession. He let nothing stand in the way of this profession. Danger, hardship and poverty were all part of his daily routine for most of his life, but he placed his principles above everything. "Stern and incorruptible" was the reputation which Sam Adams acquired.

In 1748, 25 years before the revolutionary crisis matured, Adams, together with some friends, founded the **Boston Public Advertiser**, a radical newspaper. This was the beginning of his journalistic work. Adams was to become the most able writer, agitator and propagandist of the American Revolution.

After the **Advertiser** failed, Adams became a regular contributor to the **Boston and New England** radical press. The **Boston Gazette** was the chief radical paper, and Adams wrote for this paper under 17 different names.

Adams was also to gain fame as the greatest of revolutionary organizers and strategists. In this early period, Adams began this work in the Caucus Club, which his father had helped to found.

The Caucus Club was the steering committee of the oppositionists to British crown government. It was composed of the leading resistance fighters: workingmen, artisans, tradesmen, and some merchants. This club met regularly to agree upon policies and candidates, which the caucus then supported in the town meetings and sessions of the colonial legislature.

Adams rapidly became the most powerful figure in the Caucus Club. His popularity was based upon his consistently good advice, his firmness in principle, his flexibility in maneuvering, and his ability in handling men.

The Royal Governors

The radical newspapers of Massachusetts, together with the Caucus Club, made life miserable for the royal governors of Massachusetts. "A governor's station," said Adams, "is very slippery." In the course of thirty years, work, Adams was to drive many governors from the shores of New England. He knew how to build up a murderous pressure, and make it very difficult for a royal governor to operate.

His fight against British governors had one very instructive exception. Governor Pownall, who held his office during three years of the French and Indian War, from 1757 to 1760, gave the colony a mild administration. The British needed colonial aid very badly during the war, and for that reason they relaxed their strictness.

Adams not only left Pownall alone, but virtually supported him. He was to regret this as a serious error in the years to come. A decade later, conciliationists were to use the Pownall regime as a demonstration of their claim that it was possible to live in peace with the British. These conciliators demanded a "return" to the policies of the Pownall regime.

Adams, who always closed off every possible loophole to his antagonists, was compelled to refute this argumegnt. He had to re-evaluate the Pownall regime in order to make it plain that the concessions made by the British in that period were only temporary, and were made only because the British had no choice at the time.

By supporting a British governor for a few short years, Adams had helped to sow the illusion that revolution was unnecessary; all that was needed was a "good" governor. But he later corrected that error, and never made it again. As a matter of fact, in later years, when the mass movement succeeded in wringing a few concessions from the British, Adams always warned the people not to slacken their vigilance on that account.

The Social Antagonisms

As Adams developed and matured, the social antagonisms that were to produce the revolution matured in like measure. The big turning point of colonial relations with Britain came with the ending of the French and Indian War, in 1763. Before that, relations had been uneasy, and even marked by rebellions, but after the ending of the war, the antagonisms flared out in revolutionary form.

The colonial policy of the capitalists who governed Britain has been given the name "mercantilism." Mercantilism was more than a mere policy, it was a whole stage of capitalism. It was the stage when the merchant capitalists ruled, before the industrial capitalists displaced them as the dominant force in society.

Merchant capital makes its profits through the purchase and sale of commodities. Thus the whole effort of the British capitalist class was to establish the most profitable conditions for the purchase and sale of goods by British merchants.

This had a twofold effect on early American development. It both helped and hindered the growth of American economy. On the one hand, the protection and assistance of the powerful, commercially and militarily supreme British Empire helped the colonists to prosper. And on the other hand, the British merchant capitalists tried to skim off the cream of the profits produced on the plantations, farms and fisheries of the colonies. But the British had to permit, even to assist, the growth of early economy in order to exploit it.

British policy succeeded in the plantation colonies of the south. Here the British merchants seized hold of the big staple crops, tobacco, rice, indigo, and marketed them at great profits, turning back only a pittance to the southern planters. Because of this, the planters fell further and further into debt to British merchants and factors. Finally, towards the second half of the century, the planters were becoming, as Thomas Jefferson — himself a planter — said, "a species of property annexed to certain mercantile houses."

The planters faced absolute ruin within the British mercantile system. They had to break out of it. That is why many of the biggest planters, like George Washington, and most of the smaller planters, like Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, became radicals in the end, unlike the ruling classes of the northern and middle colonies, who wound up mostly Tory.

The Merchants and Britain

In the northern and middle colonies, in the merchant-dominated cities like Boston where Sam Adams grew up, the situation was somewhat different. The British never fully succeeded in integrating these colonies into the mercantile system. They never succeeded in getting a firm grip on the trade of these parts of the country. The merchants owned their own ships, and they scoured the seas for trade opportunities pretty much as they pleased.

During the French and Indian war, the colonial merchants preyed mercilessly upon the British forces, selling them everything at high prices, and also enriching themselves by trade with the enemy. At the close of the war, the British, having removed their last serious rival on the American continent, began to move against the colonists.

The British renewed their machinery for collecting long-defunct import taxes. They started the search and seizure of vessels and contraband cargoes. They planned new taxes to pay the cost of the French and Indian War. In brief, the British opened a campaign to extend their control over the merchants, and also to tighten their grip upon the planters.

So that, after 1763, the antagonisms began to come to a head, and the revolutionary explosions followed. Sam Adams, who had already labored for more than 15 years as an anti-British oppositionist, was now joined by powerful new forces. The merchants came on the scene, the protests became widespread, great popular movements were stirred into life, and the fights started.

(Next Week: The Struggle Begins)

THE MILITANT

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'The Secretary Regrets'

By Grace Carlson

Just a few weeks ago — during the course of the "peace" talks at Kaesong — Mrs. Paul Scanlon of Minneapolis received the dread telegram which read:

"The Secretary of the Army has asked me to express his deep regret that your son PFC Scanlon, James C. was killed in action in Korea 2 Sept. 51. Confirming letter follows."

(Signed) Wm. E. Bergin, Major General USA, The Adjutant General of the Army.

Seeking to make a dramatic display as part of a Red Cross Armistice Day appeal for blood, the Minneapolis Star published this letter along with other records of the life and death of this 22-year old Korean casualty. As his mother, Mrs. Paul Scanlon, showed the Star reporter all of the various family snapshots and keepsakes, she voiced the sad bewilderment of all Gold Star mothers: "It seems impossible that Jim is gone."

For here was a birth certificate from Maternity Hospital recording the happy fact that baby boy Scanlon had been born to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Scanlon on March 11, 1929 — and that would not seem long ago at all to a fond mother!

And then there was a picture of a fat, smiling baby, whose polished face and slicked-down hair showed how much preparation had preceded the visit to the photographer. There were several snapshots: a shy, long-legged little boy, holding on to his father's hand while a picture was taken at a family picnic; a more assured little athlete in skating togs; a handsome young lad in his white Confirmation suit; a picture of Jim and his brother, Paul, playing basketball for Washburn High School. There were photos of medals won in many sports. The last picture was taken when Jim became PFC James C. Scanlon in December, 1950.

Then, there were published excerpts from his letters to his mother from Korea:

Aug. 3 — "I'm sending $30 for you to put in the bank for me, or, if you happen to have something you can use it for just go ahead. They have informed us we are going back on the line . . . . I'm just praying they'll sign a peace of some kind, I also hope it's before I go."

Aug. 10 — "Before I forget again, could you send me a box of candy, peanuts, cookies, etc. I sure could go for some. . . It sure made me mad about those peace talks. . . I don't think they really want to end all this."

Aug. 16 — "Just finished my lunch and am having a smoke. It was quite a lunch. Can of beans, crackers and jam, cup of coffee and cookies. . . We do get a hot meal every evening up here so it helps a lot. C-Rations for breakfast and lunch. . . It's a pretty tough climb up here and it takes a chow party about five hours or so to get up. . . I haven't heard too much about this cease fire lately."

Aug. 27 — "I sure hope and pray they come to some cease fire agreement soon. Tomorrow, we go out on the outpost again for five days. Then back to the valley for another five days rest. You know I've been thinking of going back to school again when I get out of this army. Just to learn how to spell if nothing else — Good idea, huh?"

That was his last letter home. On Sept. 2, James Scanlon met death on a lonely, wind-swept army outpost — over 7,000 miles from home. And the Secretary of the Army of the not-very-grateful country which had seent young Scanlon to an unnecessary and untimely death did not even sign his name to the telegram of "regret" sent to the parents! Still more ironical, the officer who signed the wire could use plenty of words and space to record his Big Brass title — "Wm. Bergin, Major General USA, The Adjutant General of the Army," but for the dead young soldier only the cold, curt, "PFC Scanlon, James C."

That is the tragic story of Jim Scanlon, struck down at 22 in a world he never made in a war that was not of his choosing.

Big Steal May Net Billion

By George Lavan

The sensational Kefauver disclosures of widespread graft and corruption in city and state politics was small-time stuff; a sideshow compared with what's going on under the Big Tent in Washington. And we're not referring to the crooked tax collectors, five-percenters, or even the Reconstruction Finance Corporation chiselers. These are only little stinkers. The really big stench arises from the boodlers whom Truman has given a license to bury both hands up to the armpits in the people's pockets. We have in mind, as one example, the natural gas swindle.

The little-known natural gas steal can no more be compared with the RFC scandals than the Brinks robbery in Boston can be compared with a filling station stick-up. While the public was being diverted with exposes of cheap chiselers with White House connections getting deep freezers, mink coats, sums of money in five or six figures, the big boys were quietly pulling a real job.

No one can call the latter cheap crooks. They do things on a handsome scale. The swag so far appears to run around several hundred million dollars a year and will, if extended to the field of electricity, hit the billion dollar mark. The oil and natural gas corporations engineered this vast robbery. Their principal accomplices were the President and a Senator. The Senator has already received his pay-off (whether full or partial, not yet known) of between $1,297,000 and $2,000,000 plus.

Here is the story. Most of the facts were first revealed by Joseph Alsop, Washington columnist.

The huge monopolies that control the public utilities of this country are supposed to be regulated by the Federal Power Commission. Procorporation as this body is, it couldn't satisfy the pirates who own the oil and natural gas wealth of the nation. Oil is not a public utility but its by-product natural gas is. Pipe lines deliver it to the midwest and the eastern seaboard.

The principal hatchetman in the political field for the natural gas interests is Senator Kerr of Oklahoma. By getting laws passed and influencing the right politicians Kerr rose to wealth and position in his own state. The oil interests made him successively governor and then senator. He and his own oil and gas company are closely tied up with the giant Phillips Petroleum Company. This oil-man lubricated the Congressional machinery and secured passage of the Kerr bill that freed natural gas corporations from price regulation by the Federal Power Commission. The bill was so raw that President Truman vetoed it in a message containing virtuous words about protecting the consumers. All the liberals and labor leaders applauded Truman for his "defense" of the people against Big Business.

Then Truman made Mon Wallgren, a political hack enthusiastically endorsed by the oil and gas interests, Chairman of the Federal Power Commission. Prior to this Truman had been packing the Commission with men designated by Senator Kerr.

The hired hands of the oil and natural gas interests now comprised a majority on the Federal Power Commission, and in a case brought before it by the Phillips Petroleum Co. promptly passed by administrative ruling the very enactment that Truman had vetoed with such fanfare. Not a word of disapproval was uttered by the President.

Under the new gas rates the people of Detroit alone will pay an extra $1,770,000 yearly. Customers supplied by just one of the five pipe lines — the Michigan-Wisconsin — will pay a yearly increase of $5,000,000 to cook their meals as a result of the Kerr-to-Truman-to-Wallgren trick play. The FPC's ruling raised the value of Phillips Petroleum's natural gas properties by no less than $700,000,000.

All these figures are for only one natural gas company. All the others are now lining up before the Trumanized Federal Power Commission's door for their million dollar handouts. And even more sinister is the fact that the electric power corporations are having their lawyers prepare briefs to have the Commission issue them similar licenses for highway robbery. If they succeed the consumers will be robbed of at least an additional billion dollars a year.

On Tour for Socialism

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Reese H. Taylor, President of the Union Oil Company of California, made a speech last month before the Stockholder Relations Institute sponsored by the Los Angeles Stock Exchange and the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. The official title of his speech was "The Stockholder — Key to the Arch of Free Enterprise." However, the "real title," Mr. Taylor made clear, was "Marx Was Mistaken."

At the conclusion of this speech Mr. Taylor made a ringing appeal to his audience: "Let's arm ourselves with facts and figures and go out and do a little battle with these hot-eyed disciples" of Marx. He scolded his profit-loving audience: "We've been very poor debaters in the ideological arguments that have raged throughout the world. We've been weak in our arguments at home and we've been worse than weak abroad." Mr. Taylor then concluded: "It's a crying shame to let them go unanswered."

As reported in The Militant several weeks ago, we thought Mr. Taylor should be given the opportunity to "do battle" in his war against the ideas of Marx. I wrote him a letter immediately proposing a debate. As a disciple of Marx I am willing and anxious to defend Marx's theories. Such a debate against a real Marxist would give Mr. Taylor a chance to prove his contention that "Marx was mistaken."

However, I received a polite but definitive refusal: "Dear Mrs. Weiss: I want to thank you very much for your invitation to participate in a public debate on Marxism. Much as I am tempted to accept, it has been my experience that this subject is a bit too complicated to cover adequately within both the time limits and the necessarily extemporaneous format of a public debate. . . " Mr. Taylor sent along a copy of his speech.

Evidently consistency is not a part of Mr. Taylor's "logic.'" It is one thing to "refute" Marx in the cozy atmosphere of a banquet at the Riviera Country Club. His arguments can go unanswered there. But how can Mr. Taylor square his complaint that his fellow capitalists have been "poor debaters" with his refusal to demonstrate that he could do better.

Furthermore, the technical objections to the debate form do not outweigh the value of this method of handling controversial subjects. A debate presents opposing views for immediate critical examination. It checks misuse of facts and corrects distortions. American history is full of occasions where vitally important issues have been debated before the people.

I would be the last to maintain that debate alone could settle our great historic problems. But in the conflict of ideas that always precedes such a settlement, debate has played the role of clarifying issues for the American people. The debate gives an audience a chance to discern the strength or weakness of two opposing arguments in direct conflict. The whole judicial system of America is based on the principle of debate with a jury as an audience.

I intend to press Mr. Taylor for a debate because I am convinced that I can easily prove he is wrong. In addition, I am anxious to meet him in argument because he is the most informed capitalist opponent of Marxism that I have met in many years of socialist activity. Mr. Taylor is a serious opponent who, unlike the current fashion, does not hope to dispose of Marx with a few epithets. His speech revealed that he is somewhat familiar with Marx's scientific analysis. He expressed agreement with many of Marx's ideas, contending that American economic development is the proved exception. The debate would therefore have to base itself on an analysis of U.S. capitalism. And this is the most important question that the American people must come to understand.

Detroit Meeting

The Crisis in the Auto Union:

A Program to Build Left Wing Forces in 1952

SUNDAY, DEC. 2, at 3 PM

at

6108 LINWOOD AVENUE

Admission 35c

SWP Campaign Made Real Gains In San Francisco

By Ed Harris

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 18 — The Socialist Workers Party candidates in the San Francisco city elections received a total of 11,711 votes, of which Harry Press received 10,404 for Supervisor, and Frank Barbaria, candidate for Mayor received 1307. Press' vote was 3.95% of the total vote cast, and Barbaria's was .5%, out of 250,0000.

Oleta O'Connor Yates, the Stalinist candidate for Supervisor, received 15,932 votes. This was a 50% drop from two years ago.

Behind the scenes the Stalinists gave support to a capitalist candidate for Mayor, George Christopher. In the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union they passed out Christopher's campaign literature along with their own. In the International Longshoremen's Union, Local 10, Harry Bridges attempted to get the union to endorse Christopher. He failed when the union decided to endorse no one.

Among the Negro voters the Stalinists played a despicable role in giving undercover support to Christopher's claim to be a "friend of the Negro people." Christopher supported FEPC last year in the Board of Supervisors. Upon this alone rested his claim, although this year he did not advocate FEPC in his election program, and, as his opponents pointed out, does not employ Negroes in his big dairy firm. He ran on the program, "a business man for a busy job."

Altogether during the campaign, Barbaria and Press spoke to 39 union meetings, 17 candidates' meetings, and numerous street meetings, reaching thousands of people for the first time.

Your Dollar's Buying Power

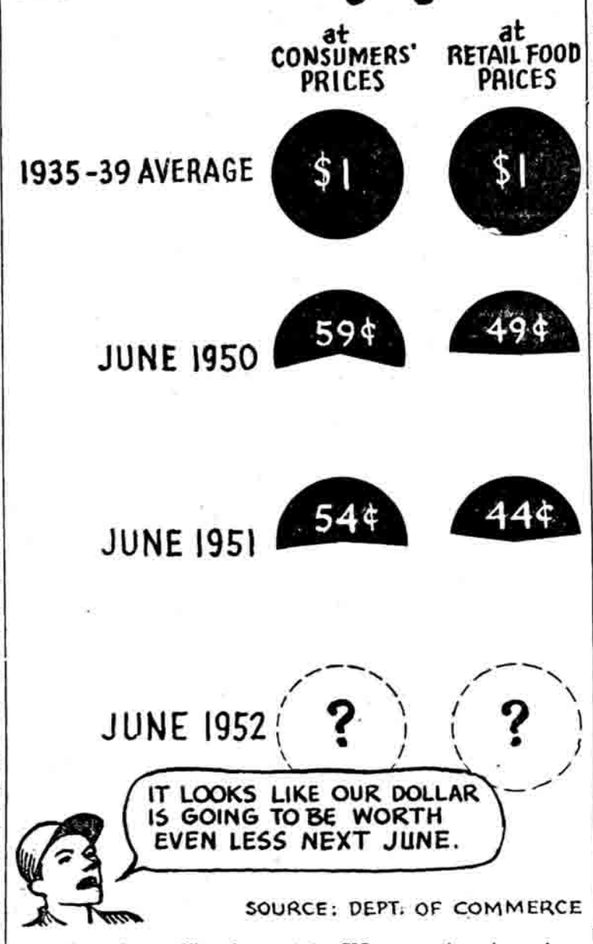

Chart from officers' report to CIO convention shows how buying power of dollar has dropped to 54c at consumers' prices and to 44c at retail food prices.

Is the Halley Victory Gain for Labor Politics?

By Michael Bartell

Rudolph Halley's victory in the recent N. Y. Council President race is being hailed in some quarters as a "victory for labor." Various fake "socialists" who supported Halley are saying that, since Halley was elected on the Liberal Party ticket, and since the Liberal Party is supposed to be controlled by a section of the trade-union movement, therefore, Halley's victory is a step in the direction of independent labor politics.

These flimsy rationalizations are being used to conceal the true nature of the Liberal Party candidate, program, and backing.

WHO IS HALLEY

Who is Rudolph Halley? He is an avowed capitalist politician. He never claimed to be anything different. He is, always has been, and promises to continue to be a loyal member of the Democratic Party. He is a prosperous attorney who has held numerous well-paying government posts. He has absolutely no record with the labor movement, and no ties or obligations to it.

The Halley candidacy brings to mind another recent Liberal Party "victory." One year ago, the Liberals succeeded in electing Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. to Congress. Within a short time, Junior made peace with the Democratic Party and listed himself with the clerk of the House as a Democrat, became a strong booster of aid to Franco and formal diplomatic relations with the Pope, and supported the Tammany candidate, Joseph Sharkey against Halley in the recent election.

The talk in Liberal circles indicates that Rudolph Halley will certainly pull an "FDR, Jr." the first chance he gets.

WHAT ABOUT PROGRAM?

How about the program of the Liberal Party? It was not one whit superior to the candidate; it too was a transparent fraud. Halley limited his campaign to the single issue: "Reform." Not mind you, social reform, but merely "crimebusting" and "clean government." Halley repeated time and again that his program could be boiled down to a single word: "decency."

Like many previous crusading "reformers" he did not challenge the rule of the capitalist class, but merely promised to furnish it with "cheaper" and "cleaner" government; that is, to make its rule over the working people more efficient.

HALLEY PINNED DOWN

However, try as he might, Halley did not succeed in evading the real issues. The persistent hammering of the Socialist Workers Party during the forums in which all candidates participated, and the intrusion of several class battles like the longshoremens' and sanitation strikes, made Halley show his true colors before the campaign had ended.

Halley's true colors were very embarrassing to his "labor" and "socialist" supporters. So anxious was he to prove complete loyalty to the capitalist class that he did not even permit himself a little "pro-labor" demagogy. His remarks on matters that affect labor were hard to distinguish from those of the Republican candidate, or the Tammany man.

HALLEY DOUBLE-TALK

The "slowdown" of the sanitation workers in their long battle to gain a 40 hour week came during the election campaign. So did the strike of the longshoremen on the N. Y. docks. In both cases, Halley said he sympathized with the workers, but he supported the strikebreakers. He supported the New York City administration which went all out in a reign of terror against the garbage workers, firing, suspending and scabbing. And Halley supported the incredibly vile and corrupt Ryan waterfront racketeers and the strikebreaking government agencies in their campaign to get the dockworkers back to work. He condemned the strike on grounds of patriotism, as did the Anastasia gang, the Murder Inc. gangsters that are trying to run the waterfront. That was Halley, the "decent" and "reform" candidate.

To round out his anti-labor platform, Halley declared in favor of freezing wages, although the entire labor movement, including Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers Union which backed Halley, is opposed to the wage freeze. Halley also gave his blessing to the reactionary Feinberg Law, which brought the witchhunt into the publis schools.

ALSO WARMONGER

When asked about the banning of the Nation from school libraries by the Board of Education acting under orders from the Catholic hierarchy, Halley refused to commit himself. On the issue of racial segregation and persecution, on the terror and police brutality against Negro and Puerto Rican minorities, Halley refused to say a single word, in spite of repeated challenges.

Finally, on the Korean war, he declared his unreserved support to the U.S. imperialist invasion of Korea saying "We have a stake in the Pacific," and he refused to back a proposal for a national referendum to decide whether to continue the slaughter or withdraw the troops.

Finally, we come to the question: who backed Halley? Was this an election battle that developed along class lines, with the capitalist parties on one side, and the labor organizations on the other? If this were really a class battle, perhaps Halley would have deserved our support in spite of all shortcomings. However, this was anything but a labor campaign. Halley was supported by a "peoples' front" so broad as to make the Stalinists turn green with envy. This ranged from Shachtman's Labor Action through Norman Thomas' Socialist Call, the Social-Democratic New Leader and Daily Forward, the Liberal-Democratic New York Post, the Wall Street conservative New York Times, and the rabidly reactionary, pro-MacArthur and McCarthy New York Daily News.

It is undeniable that the Halley victory shows that the two old capitalist electoral machines have become discredited, and that their hold on the voters is slipping fast. The possibility of building an independent labor party gains from this weakening of the political machines. But all of this was demonstrated just as clearly by the victory of Impellitteri in the mayoralty election a year ago, against the opposition of all existing parties, the Liberal Party included.

POLITICAL VACUUM

However, all this proves is that a vacuum exists in the world of politics; a vacuum due to the disgust of the working people with capitalist politics. It does not prove that the Liberal Party filled that vacuum with a labor party movement. On the contrary, this Liberal Party impedes the progress towards a genuine independent labor party by selling out to a cheap, self-seeking hypocritical capitalist politician and to his real backers: Wall Street and the capitalist "reform" fakers.

There has been a victory, but not for the workers. They have not won representation in government, because the winning candidate was not theirs. They have not gained in education, because the program of this candidate was reactionary. They have not gained in experience or organization, because they were dragged along as a tail to their class enemies.

The principle victors were Halley, who has been launched upon a promising personal career, and his surrounding coterie of jobseekers, and renegades from the working class movement. The workers have not gained, and they will not gain until they enter politics on their own, with candidates, a party, and a program that are for labor and determined by labor.

End Witch Hunt, Labor, Liberal Groups Demand

The national CIO convention's strong denunciation of the "retreats" on the civil liberties front in the United States was an important development in the mobilization of resistance to the witch-hunt.

The CIO resolution singled out for its protests these actions of the last year: The Supreme Court approval of the conviction of the Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act; the smears of McCarran's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee; McCarthy's activities; the State Department's cowardly behavior in the face of charges from McCarran's committee; the order amending the "loyalty" purge program so that any employee can be discharged on grounds of "reasonable doubt" regarding his loyalty; dismissal of government employees on the charge of "poor security"; attempts by the Industrial Employment Review Board of the Department of Defense to fire workers from arms industries because of union or strike activities; the Subversive Activities Control Act.

The CIO asked "all men of good will" to join with it in urging Congress to revise existing legislation, especially the Smith Act and the Subversive Activities Control Act, by striking out provisions "which permit prosecution on the basis of speech or advocacy alone."

WITCH HUNT RESISTANCE

At the same time, President Earl Jimerson and Secretary-Treasurer Patrick Gorman of the AFL Butcher Workmen published an editorial in the November issue of their union's paper, urging the American people not to be intimidated by those who sought to frighten them into keeping quiet about the need for peace. "In a world torn with war, people should think and talk boldly," they wrote.

Speaking at Brandeis University on Nov. 8, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas sounded a warning that the U.S. is "drifting dangerously fast" to a condition of "repression."

SPREAD OF FEAR

The "ominous trend" today, he said, is that there is a "developing tolerance only for the orthodox point of view on world affairs. Fear has driven more and more men and women in all walks of life either to silence or to the folds of the orthodox.

"Fear has mounted — fear of losing one's job, fear of being investigated, fear of being pilloried. This fear has stereotyped our thinking, narrowed the range of free public discussion, and driven many thoughtful people to despair. This fear has even entered our universities, great citadels of our spiritual strength, and corrupted them. We have the spectacle of university officials lending themselves to one of the worst kinds of witch hunts we have seen since our early days."

GAG RULE CONDEMNED

The witch hunt in the schools got a setback on Nov. 10 when the council of the American Association of University Professors, representing 42,000 teachers in almost 900 colleges, charged that the trustees of Ohio State University, by issuing an order requiring the screening of campus speakers, had encroached "upon the effectiveness of free speech and inquiry for students and faculty" and were "subversive of the functions of a free university in a free society."

And at the University of California the Board of Regents on Nov. 16 put an apparent end to the "loyalty" oath fight when it defeated a motion to reconsider its decision last month to rescind the repugnant anti-communist oath which the Regents had demanded of all university employees.

The oath was fought for two years by UC faculty members, with the support of educators all over the country. Judgment on the legality of the oath was pending in the state supreme court. The state appellate court had upheld the faculty members who challenged the oath. The Regents still face court action for the reinstatement of a number of employees fired for refusing to sign it. Last month an additional 48 employees refused to sign.

ELMER RICE PROTEST

The witch hunt in another field was protested last week when playwright Elmer Rice broke off all connections with the Celanese Theater, a television drama program. The agency in charge of casting Rice's **Attorney-at-Law** had submitted to the pressure of the redbaiters who publish **Red Channels** and barred an actor selected by Rice to fill the leading part in his play. It was later disclosed that the actor involved was John Garfield, who had humiliated himself before the House Un-American Committee with protestations that he was not, never had been and never would be a member of the Communist Party.

Steel Wage-Policy Committee Sets New Contract Demand

(Cont. from page 1)

cases, are strictly department-wide.

A new demand for a guaranteed annual wage is being introduced into negotiations with the steel companies. The union has not specified any figures, but has simply asked that "Every employee shall be guaranteed a minimum annual wage." Steelworkers who remember the terrible days of the depression of the Thirties when the whole steel industry shut down, are serious in their support of this clause. However, it remains to be seen how far the leadership will go.

OTHER DEMANDS

Other demands to be presented to the companies include the union shop, improved vacation benefits, improved shift differential payments for the afternoon and night shifts, better safety and health provisions, severance pay, paid holidays (workers in basic steel at present do not have any paid holidays) and other important changes.

Among the most important of the new clauses being demanded is that which would provide time-and-one-half for Saturday work and double-time for Sunday work. This is a big issue because of the 24 hour 7 day schedule on which the industry operates.

PREPARE FOR STRIKE

Most steelworkers are convinced that this program, or any substantial part of it, will not be won without a strike. The union militants are already beginning to prepare. Plant gate dues inspections have been started in order to bring union rolls to full strength. Talk in the plants shows the strike consciousness of the men.

This understanding is a new element in the thinking of the steelworkers. With the exception of the defeated Little Steel strikes in 1937 and the victorious Bethlehem recognition strike in 1941, there were no large-scale strikes in the steel industry until 1946, a period comprising the first decade of the union's history. However, the industry-wide strikes of 1946 and 1949, the hundreds of department and plant-wide strikes of the past few years, and now the preparations for a possible third industry-wide strike have implanted the firm conviction of the necessity and power of industry-wide action in the minds of the steelworkers.

The great power of the steel union lies in the firmly established policy of industry-wide bargaining and industry-wide strike-action. That is why this union is in a better position to challenge and break the government wage-freeze than any other union in the country with the possible exception of the United Mine Workers Union, which also acts on an industry-wide basis.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a lecture on

The Colonial Revolution, Greatest Event of Our Time

Speaker:

JOHN G. WRIGHT

Fri., Nov. 30, at 8:30 PM

at 423 Springfield Avenue